

Message Text

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE PRIORITY
INFO CSCE COLLECTIVE PRIORITY

UNCLAS STATE 263922

BELGRADE FOR USDEL CSCE

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: CSCE

SUBJECT: CSCE: INFORMATION LETTER TO NGOS

THIS TELEGRAM TRANSMITS TEXT OF INFORMATION LETTER
DEPARTMENT HAS SENT TO REPRESENTATIVES OF NON-GOVERNMENTAL
ORGANIZATIONS WITH AN INTEREST IN CSCE.

BEGIN TEXT:

DEAR:
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THIS LETTER IS INTENDED AS THE FIRST OF A SERIES OF
REPORTS ON EVENTS AT THE BELGRADE MEETING OF THE CONFERENCE
ON SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE WHICH THE DEPARTMENT
OF STATE HOPES TO SEND TO YOU. WE PLAN THROUGH THESE
ANALYSES TO KEEP YOU INFORMED OF DEVELOPMENTS AT BELGRADE
AND OF OUR THINKING CONCERNING ISSUES RAISED THERE. IT
IS EXTREMELY HELPFUL TO US, AMBASSADOR GOLDBERG AND THE
DELEGATES IN BELGRADE TO MAINTAIN CONTACT WITH GROUPS
INTERESTED IN THE CSCE PROCESS. I HOPE YOU WILL FEEL
FREE TO COMMENT ON SUBJECTS COVERED IN THIS LETTER OR ON

ANY OTHER MATTERS RELATED TO CSCE.

THE FIRST TWO WEEKS OF DISCUSSION AT BELGRADE WERE

DEVOTED ENTIRELY TO PLENARY SESSIONS. DURING THE FIRST WEEK, PRESENTATIONS COVERED ALL MATTERS CONTAINED IN THE FINAL ACT AND WERE DESIGNED TO SET THE TONE FOR DETAILED DISCUSSIONS YET TO COME. SINCE DISCUSSIONS DURING THE FIRST WEEK WERE OPEN TO THE PRESS, THE SPEECHES PLAYED AN IMPORTANT ROLE IN SETTING FORTH THE OBJECTIVES WHICH EACH NATION INTENDED TO PURSUE.

AMBASSADOR GOLDBERG'S OPENING SPEECH

I HAVE INCLUDED FOR YOUR INFORMATION THE TEXT OF THE ADDRESS DELIVERED BY AMBASSADOR GOLDBERG. THIS ADDRESS WAS GREETED POSITIVELY THROUGHOUT THE WESTERN WORLD AS A DEMONSTRATION OF THE STRONG AMERICAN COMMITMENT TO ENSURING THAT THE BELGRADE MEETING WOULD FULFILL ITS TASK OF CONDUCTING A FULL AND OBJECTIVE REVIEW OF EXPERIENCE WITH THE CSCE PROCESS SINCE SIGNATURE OF THE FINAL ACT IN AUGUST, 1975.
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IN HIS ADDRESS AMBASSADOR GOLDBERG UNDERLINED OUR BELIEF THAT PROGRESS IN POLITICAL RELATIONS IN EUROPE CANNOT BE DIVORCED FROM PROGRESS IN HUMANITARIAN MATTERS AND HUMAN RIGHTS, AND POINTED OUT THAT MUCH REMAINS TO BE DONE TO IMPLEMENT FULLY THE PROVISIONS OF THE FINAL ACT WHICH DEAL WITH THESE IMPORTANT MATTERS. AT THE SAME TIME, AMBASSADOR GOLDBERG STRESSED THAT FULL IMPLEMENTATION MUST BE THE RESULT OF A LONG-TERM PROCESS WHICH HAS ONLY JUST BEGUN. HE LISTED AS A MAJOR AMERICAN GOAL IN BELGRADE AGREEMENT TO HOLD A FURTHER REVIEW CONFERENCE OF THE SAME SORT, PERHAPS IN TWO YEARS.

AMBASSADOR GOLDBERG ALSO POINTED OUT THAT ALL CSCE SIGNATORIES COULD IMPROVE THEIR RECORD OF IMPLEMENTATION. HE REPEATED THE COMMITMENT OF THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT TO DO EVERYTHING POSSIBLE TO BRING OUT PERFORMANCE IN LINE WITH COMMITMENTS UNDERTAKEN IN THE FINAL ACT AND STRESSED THAT IT IS THE EASTERN COUNTRIES WHO HAVE THE FARTHEST TO GO IN MEETING THE STANDARDS SET IN HELSINKI. THROUGH THE USE OF SPECIFIC ILLUSTRATIONS, HE INDICATED AREAS WHERE WE BELIEVE PROGRESS IS NEEDED.

U.S. GOALS FOR THE BELGRADE MEETING

AMBASSADOR GOLDBERG MEANT HIS ADDRESS TO PROVIDE AN EXAMPLE OF THE TYPE OF DISCUSSION WHICH WE BELIEVED WOULD STIMULATE THE MOST PROGRESS TOWARDS REALIZING THE GOALS SET FORTH IN THE FINAL ACT, AND TO STRESS AMERICAN DETER-

MINATION TO ENSURE THAT THE BELGRADE MEETING HAD A POSITIVE EFFECT ON THE LIVES OF PEOPLE AND CONTRIBUTED TO THE

IMPROVEMENT OF RELATIONS BETWEEN EAST AND WEST. ALL DELEGATES TO THE MEETING NOW UNDERSTAND THIS TO BE OUR PURPOSE.

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THROUGHOUT THE CONFERENCE, THE UNITED STATES DELEGATION WILL FOLLOW THE LEAD SET BY AMBASSADOR GOLDBERG IN PURSUING A FIRM, DETAILED, NON-POLEMICAL DISCUSSION OF THE ISSUES. WE BELIEVE ALL ASPECTS OF THE FINAL ACT--ALL THREE BASKETS--MUST BE DISCUSSED IN FULL, FOR ALL OF THEM ARE IMPORTANT TO THE FUTURE OF SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE. WE BELIEVE THAT SUCH A FULL DISCUSSION WILL PROVIDE THE MAJOR STIMULUS TO FURTHER PROGRESS ON PRACTICAL ISSUES AND THAT THE PRECEDENT WE SET IN RAISING CONCRETE ISSUES IN FORMAL CONFERENCE SESSIONS WILL PROVIDE A BASIS FOR PURSUING THEM WITH INDIVIDUAL COUNTRIES AFTER THE CONFERENCE HAS CONCLUDED.

SUPPORT OF OUR ALLIES

A MAJOR ELEMENT OF OUR APPROACH TO BELGRADE IS TO ENCOURAGE THE EXPRESSION OF COMMON CONCERNS AMONG OUR NATO ALLIES, AND TO GATHER AS MUCH SUPPORT AS POSSIBLE FROM THE NEUTRAL AND NON-ALIGNED PARTICIPANTS. BY REMINDING THE EASTERN NATIONS THAT ALL OF THEIR CSCE COUNTERPARTS REQUIRE AND EXPECT THE SPECIFIC DISCUSSION OF THE ISSUES, WE HELP SUPPORT OUR CONCEPT FOR THE CONFERENCE. THE UNITED STATES HAS NO HESITATION IN TAKING THE LEAD IN RAISING SPECIFIC PROBLEMS AND OTHER STATES HAVE JOINED US. WE EXPECT THAT OUR NATO ALLIES AND THE NEUTRAL AND NON-ALIGNED PARTICIPANTS WILL CONTINUE THEIR SUPPORT FOR AN HONEST REVIEW OF IMPLEMENTATION.

THIS SUPPORT HAS BEEN MANIFESTED OPENLY DURING THE OPENING WEEKS OF THE CONFERENCE. ONE BY ONE, OUR ALLIES AND THE NEUTRAL AND NON-ALIGNED PARTICIPANTS
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HAVE REJECTED THE EASTERN CONTENTION THAT IMPLEMENTATION OF THE FINAL ACT HAS BEEN LARGELY SATISFACTORY AND THAT DISCUSSIONS AT BELGRADE SHOULD AVOID SPECIFICS AND INSTEAD CONCENTRATE ON THE FUTURE RATHER THAN THE PAST. I AM HAPPY TO REPORT, THAT AS THE CONFERENCE HAS PROCEEDED, THE DETERMINATION OF OUR ALLIES AND THE

NEUTRAL AND NON-ALIGNED COUNTRIES HAS STRENGTHENED. WE HAVE EVERY REASON TO BELIEVE THAT THE NON-COMMUNIST COUNTRIES AT BELGRADE WILL ACHIEVE THEIR GOAL OF A DETAILED REVIEW OF IMPLEMENTATION.

DEVELOPMENTS DURING THE CLOSED PLENARY

THE OPENING WEEK OF PUBLIC SPEECHES WAS FOLLOWED BY ONE WEEK OF CLOSED PLENARY DISCUSSION. DURING THIS PHASE OF THE CONFERENCE, DELEGATES MADE SHORT INTERVENTIONS AIMED AT SPECIFIC AREAS OF THE FINAL ACT. AT THE INSISTENCE OF WESTERN PARTICIPANTS, THE CLOSED PLENARY WAS STRUCTURED IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE THREE MAIN CHAPTERS OF THE FINAL ACT. THIS MADE IT POSSIBLE TO BEGIN A SECTION-BY-SECTION DISCUSSION OF THE FINAL ACT AND TO ESTABLISH THE PRECEDENT FOR THE MORE DETAILED CONSIDERATION IN THE SUBSIDIARY WORKING BODIES.

UNITED STATES REPRESENTATIVES MADE THREE INTERVENTIONS DURING THE WEEK OF CLOSED PLENARY DISCUSSIONS-- ONE FOR EACH "BASKET" OF THE FINAL ACT.

-- OUR REMARKS ON THE PRINCIPALS AND SECURITY CHAPTER (BASKET I) WERE DELIVERED BY PROFESSOR JOYCE HUGHES, ONE OF OUR DISTINGUISHED PUBLIC MEMBERS WHO IS A PROFESSOR OF LAW AT NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY AND NATIONAL VICE CHAIRMAN OF THE URBAN LEAGUE. IN HER STATEMENT, PROFESSOR HUGHES STRESSED THAT WHILE THE PRINCIPLES SET FORTH IN BASKET I WERE DESIGNED TO REGULATE RELATIONS BETWEEN STATES, THEY ALSO AFFECTED RELATIONS BETWEEN UNCLASSIFIED

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CITIZENS AND STATES AND EXCHANGES BETWEEN INDIVIDUAL CITIZENS. PROFESSOR HUGHES NOTED THAT "IF THE BASIC HUMAN RIGHTS OF EVERY NATION ARE NOT OBSERVED, THERE CAN BE NO LASTING PEACE; THERE CAN BE NO PERMANENT SECURITY; THERE CAN BE NO REAL COOPERATION AMONG NATIONS."

PROFESSOR HUGHES ALSO ADDRESSED ONE OF THE MOST CONTROVERSIAL AREAS OF THE PRINCIPLES DECLARATION, THE SECTION ON NON-INTERVENTION IN INTERNAL AFFAIRS. SOME OF THE EASTERN COUNTRIES HAVE USED THIS PARAGRAPH OF THE FINAL ACT AS A MEANS OF OBJECTING TO EVEN THE MOST GENERAL CRITICISM OF THEIR IMPLEMENTATION. NOTING THAT THE FINAL ACT COULD ONLY LIVE AND GROW IF ITS SIGNATORIES DID IN FACT QUESTION EACH OTHER, PROFESSOR HUGHES STRESSED THAT "SUCH COMMENT AND INQUIRY IN NO WAY BREACHES THE PROMISE WE ALSO GAVE--AND FIRMLY UPHOLD-- NOT TO INTERVENE IN MATTERS 'FALLING WITHIN THE DOMESTIC JURISDICTION' OF OTHER STATES."

THIS FIRST US INTERVENTION CONCLUDED WITH REFERENCE

TO A SPECIFIC PROBLEM ENCOUNTERED UNDER PRINCIPLE X WHICH COMMITS THE SIGNATORIES TO FULFILLMENT "IN GOOD FAITH (OF) THEIR OBLIGATIONS UNDER INTERNATIONAL LAW." PROFESSOR HUGHES POINTED OUT THAT A BASIC COMPONENT

OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS WHICH AFFECTS ALL ASPECTS OF HUMAN CONTACTS, IS THE DELIVERY OF ORDINARY AND REGISTERED MAIL. SHE NOTED, HOWEVER, THAT SOME EASTERN COUNTRIES WERE FAILING TO LIVE UP TO THEIR OBLIGATIONS IN THIS AREA WITH DISTURBING RESULTS. AS PROFESSOR HUGHES POINTED OUT: "WHEN LETTERS DO NOT PASS FREELY BETWEEN MEMBERS OF THE SAME FAMILY...THE PROCESS OF FAMILY REUNIFICATION IS OBSTRUCTED, NOT FACILITATED." UNCLASSIFIED

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-- AMBASSADOR ALBERT W. SHERER, JR., WHO IS DEPUTY CHAIRMAN OF THE U.S. DELEGATION, TOOK THE FLOOR TO PRESENT AMERICAN VIEWS ON EXPERIENCE WITH PROVISIONS ON ECONOMIC, SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNOLOGICAL EXCHANGE (BASKET II). AMBASSADOR SHERER UNDERLINED AMERICAN INTEREST IN DEEPENING ECONOMIC AND COMMERCIAL EXCHANGES, BUT NOTED THAT PROGRESS WOULD REMAIN SLOW UNLESS WESTERN BUSINESSMEN WERE GRANTED GREATER ACCESS TO INFORMATION ON BUSINESS OPPORTUNITIES IN EASTERN COUNTRIES. HE POINTED OUT THAT "IF THEY ARE FRUSTRATED IN THEIR ENDEAVORS, THEY WILL LOSE INTEREST--TO THE DETRIMENT OF THE PRINCIPLES AND POSSIBILITIES ENUNCIATED IN THE FINAL ACT."

AMBASSADOR SHERER POINTED OUT THAT AN AREA COVERED BY BASKET II WHICH WAS OF EQUAL IMPORTANCE TO THE UNITED STATES WAS THE PROMOTION OF GREATER INFORMAL CONTACT AND COLLABORATION AMONG SCIENTISTS. HE ARGUED THAT "SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH CANNOT BRING MANKIND ITS POTENTIAL BENEFITS IF RESEARCHERS ARE KEPT APART AND THEIR CONVERSATIONS MUFFLED."

-- THE FINAL U.S. INTERVENTION IN THE SECOND WEEK WAS DELIVERED BY AMBASSADOR GOLDBERG CONCERNING EXPERIENCE WITH PROVISIONS COVERING HUMANITARIAN MATTERS (BASKET III). THE AMBASSADOR POINTED OUT THAT WHILE THE UNITED STATES RECOGNIZED THAT ALL THREE BASKETS WERE OF GREAT IMPORTANCE, IT CONSIDERED BASKET III AS A "KEYSTONE" OF THE FINAL ACT. REVIEWING EXPERIENCE WITH BASKET III, AMBASSADOR GOLDBERG TOOK NOTE OF SEVERAL POSITIVE DEVELOPMENTS, ESPECIALLY IN THE FIELD OF FAMILY REUNIFICATION. BUT, THE AMBASSADOR POINTED OUT, THERE WERE STILL TOO MANY EXAMPLES OF CAPRICIOUS HANDLING OF APPLICATIONS; MISTREATMENT OF APPLICANTS AND ARBITRARY REFUSAL OF LEGITIMATE REQUESTS TO JUSTIFY SATISFACTION WITH UNCLASSIFIED

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EXPERIENCE SO FAR. THERE WERE ALSO DIFFICULTIES IN OTHER FIELDS SUCH AS TREATMENT OF JOURNALISTS, JAMMING OF RADIO BROADCASTS AND FACILITATION OF CULTURAL EXCHANGES. THE AMBASSADOR NOTED: "THESE ARE THE TYPES OF PROBLEMS THAT CONTINUE TO CONCERN THE GOVERNMENT AND THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES, AND THESE ARE THE TYPES OF PROBLEMS WE INTEND TO PURSUE IN SPECIFIC DETAIL IN THE WORKING BODIES, BECAUSE WE CONSIDER THIS IS WHAT THE FINAL ACT REQUIRED US TO DO."

WITH THE CONCLUSION OF THE SECOND WEEK OF THE CONFERENCE, THE FOCUS OF DISCUSSION HAS NOW MOVED TO THE WORKING GROUPS (SUBSIDIARY WORKING BODIES) WHICH HAVE BEEN ESTABLISHED IN THE FIVE MAIN SUBJECT AREAS: BASKET I, II, AND III; MEDITERRANEAN QUESTIONS AND FOLLOW-UP TO THE CONFERENCE.

IT IS OF COURSE TOO EARLY TO DETERMINE WHETHER IT WILL BE POSSIBLE TO SECURE CONSENSUS ON CONCRETE IMPROVEMENTS IN IMPLEMENTATION OF THE FINAL ACT. HOWEVER, I BELIEVE THAT A SOUND COURSE HAS BEEN SET AND THAT A PRECEDENT HAS BEEN ESTABLISHED WHICH MAKES CLEAR THAT CSCE REVIEW CONFERENCES, NOW AND IN THE FUTURE, WILL CONCENTRATE ON PRACTICAL EXPERIENCE WITH THE FINAL ACT.

ONE EVENT WHICH MARRED THE POSITIVE ATMOSPHERE IN BELGRADE WAS THE EXPULSION BY YUGOSLAV SECURITY AUTHORITIES OF TWO REPRESENTATIVES OF A PRIVATE ORGANIZATION WHO WISHED TO CONTACT DELEGATIONS TO THE CONFERENCE. THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT HAS MADE CLEAR TO THE GOVERNMENT OF YUGOSLAVIA THAT IT EXPECTS PRIVATE AMERICANS TO HAVE FULL ACCESS TO THE AMERICAN DELEGATION

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AND WHEN INFORMED OF THE EXPULSION, THE AMERICAN EMBASSY IN BELGRADE RAISED THE INCIDENT OFFICIALLY WITH THE YUGOSLAV FOREIGN MINISTRY.

AMBASSADOR GOLDBERG SUPPORTED THIS APPROACH BY WRITING DIRECTLY TO THE CHAIRMAN OF THE YUGOSLAV CSCE DELEGATION.

I AM PLEASED TO REPORT THAT SINCE THESE REPRESENTATIONS, MEMBERS OF SEVERAL PRIVATE AMERICAN ORGANIZATIONS HAVE BEEN ADMITTED TO THE CONFERENCE CENTER AND HAVE CALLED UPON OUR DELEGATION WITHOUT DIFFICULTY. WE TRUST THAT THE EXPULSION IN OCTOBER WAS AN ISOLATED INCIDENT. HOWEVER, IF FURTHER PROBLEMS DO ARISE, WE WILL CONTINUE TO ASSERT ENERGETICALLY

THE RIGHT OF PRIVATE AMERICANS TO CONTACT OUR DELEGATION
IN BELGRADE.

WE WILL REPORT TO YOU SOON ON THE COURSE OF
DISCUSSION IN THE SUBSIDIARY WORKING BODIES AND ON
OTHER DEVELOPMENTS CONCERNING THE BELGRADE MEETING.
IN THE MEANTIME, WE HOPE TO HEAR FROM YOU ABOUT YOUR

VIEWS ON DEVELOPMENTS IN BELGRADE.

SINCERELY,

MATTHEW NIMETZ
COUNSELOR

END TEXT.

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